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PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING WITH CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS . . .





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LETTER TO VOLCKERT P. DOUW, ESQ.

Owned by, his great-grand-daughter, Mrs. M. P. Ferris.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

New York State Historical Association

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING WITH CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS



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^{*} Deceased.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The third annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held at the Fort William Henry Hotel, Caldwell, N. Y., on Tuesday, July 30, 1901.

The usual routine business was transacted.

The Treasurer's report showed receipts amounting to \$448.57, and expenditures of \$355.92, leaving a balance of \$92.65 in the general fund and a further balance of \$150 in the life membership fund.

Hon. James A. Roberts, Dr. Daniel C. Farr, Hon. Timothy L. Woodruff, Dr. Everett R. Sawyer, and Messrs. James A. Holden, John Boulton Simpson, Elwyn Seelye, Howland Pell, and Frederick B. Richards were elected trustees to serve until the last Tuesday of July, 1904.

The literary symposium was devoted to Ticonderoga. Monographs were read on the The Fort, by Mr. Frank B. Wickes, of Ticonderoga; on Ethan Allen, by Rev. Ernest Melville, A. M., of Fort Edward; on Lord Howe, by Prof. George A. Ingalls, A. B., of Sandy Hill; on Duncan Campbell, by Mr. Robert O. Bascom, of Fort Edward; and on Montcalm, by Rev. Andrew V. V. Raymond, D. D., LL. D., of Schenectady, president of Union College.

The Rev. Charles Ellis Stevens, Ph. D., LL. D., D. C. L., rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and author of Sources of the Constitution of the United States, addressed the Association in the afternoon on the Evolution of American Free Government.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The last report of the Society's work showed the accomplishment of one of the purposes of the Society's creation, in the purchase by the State of the principal part of the land about the head of the lake made historic by the battles fought there between the English and the French, and particularly by the battle won by Sir William Johnson in September, 1755, which was the first step in driving France from the New World, and demonstrated for the first time the power of the Provincial forces in united effort. This victory is soon to be commemorated by the Society of Colonial Wars by the erection of a bronze monument on the site.

In recognition of its efforts in urging upon the Legislature the importance of purchasing the land, our Association has been designated by the State Comptroller as the custodian of the Lake George Park.

An appropriation is now needed to erect there at a convenient point a modest but fire-proof building, wherein may be placed the many valuable relics which have been promised as loans or gifts as soon as they can be safely and suitably housed so that the public may see and study them.

The Association has lost seven members by death during the year.

Henry Gordon Burleigh, the son of Gordon Burleigh and Elizabeth Weeks was born in Caanan, New Hampshire, June 2, 1832. His ancestor Giles Burleigh came from Ipswich, England, in 1640, and settled in New England, where his descendants did good service in the French and Indian Wars. Joseph Burleigh, the grandfather of Henry, fought in the Revolutionary War, and was afterwards for four terms in the New

Hampshire Legislature. Engaged for many years in the lumber and transportation business, the life of Henry G. Burleigh was active and successful. He was president of the old National Bank of Whitehall, and of the First National Bank of Ticonderoga, was a director in the Albany City National Bank, the Commerce Insurance Company, of Albany, and in many other financial institutions, a director of the International Paper Company, the Ticonderoga Pulp and Paper Company, the St. Maurice Lumber Company, and of many other large corporations.

A Republican from the inception of the party, Mr. Burleigh was always prominent in its councils. He was a member of the Assembly in 1875, and in 1882 was elected to Congress.

Of commanding intellect, possessed of unbounded industry and energy, he was one of the most kind-hearted of men. He married Miss Jane Richards, of Ticonderoga, in 1870. He died August 15, 1900. Three sons survive him.

Soon after the annual meeting the Hon. William J. Morgan who, as Comptroller, had just arranged the purchase of the park lands, died, leaving to his successor the final taking of title.

William J. Morgan was born in Canada in 1840, coming to Buffalo in this State when ten years old. At the opening of the Civil War he enlisted as a private in the One Hundred and Sixteenth New York Infantry. He was four times wounded at the Battle of Port Hudson, and for his gallant conduct was brevetted lieutenant-colonel. He was for many years an editor of the Buffalo Commercial. Was chairman of the board of canal appraisers, was collector of the port of Buffalo, became deputy comptroller under the Hon. James A. Roberts, and later Comptroller of the State, for which latter office he had just been renominated at the time of his death. Colonel Morgan was a man much beloved and respected. He died September 5, 1900.

General William S. Stryker, soldier and author, died at Trenton, N. J., on October 29, 1900. He was born at Trenton, N. J., on June 6, 1838, and was graduated from the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, in 1858. He was preparing for the bar and had nearly completed a law course when the Civil War broke out. He entered the Union service in response to the first call for troops, and later assisted in organizing the Fourteenth Regiment of New Jersey Volunteers. In February, 1863, he was made major and aide-de-camp to Major-General Gillmore, then in command of the Tenth Army Corps. participated in the capture of Morris Island and in the historical night attack on Fort Wagner. On account of illness he was afterward transferred and placed in charge of the pay department of the United States Army, at Parole Camp, Columbus, Ohio. In April, 1867, he was appointed a brigadier-general, and also Adjutant-General of New Jersey, which position he held up to the time of his death. For long and meritorious service he was brevetted major-general in 1874. During his busy career he officially compiled and published a Roster of Jerseymen in the Revolutionary War, a Roster of New Jersey Volunteers in the Civil War, and several historical works relating to New Jersey. General Stryker was made a counselor-at-law in Ohio in 1866, and was at one time president of the Trenton Banking Company, of which he was a director. He was also a member of State and county historical societies, a fellow of the American Geographical Society, and at one time president of the New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati. In 1899 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Princeton University. He was the oldest adjutant-general, in point of service, in the National Guard of the United States.

Elizabeth Ellsworth Hutchins, the widow of Hon. Waldo Hutchins, died at her home in Kingsbridge, New York city, on January 20, 1901, in her seventy-seventh year. Mrs. Hutchins was a native of Hartford, Conn., a daughter of Governor Wil-



liam Wolcott Ellsworth and a granddaughter of Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and of Noah Webster, the lexicographer. She had lived in New York since her marriage in 1853, and had been interested in charitable and patriotic work from the days of the Sanitary Fair and the Home for Soldiers' Orphans at the time of the Civil War. Of late years she had been prominent in the councils of the Society of Colonial Dames in the State of New York, and was especially active in the movement for the preservation of the van Cortlandt Mansion in van Cortlandt Park. At the time of her death she was chairman of the house committee.

William E. Spier died at his residence in the city of New York, on Wednesday, May 8, 1901. He was born May 16, 1849, in Northville, N. Y.

He entered the firm of Morgan, Adsit & Co., lumber merchants, in 1873. He became interested in the paper industry in 1882, and was made president of the Glens Falls Paper Company in 1885. He was instrumental in the organization of the International Paper Company, and was its first treasurer. Mr. Spier was long a prominent and much esteemed citizen of Glens Falls, and a director and trustee of numerous corporations there.

Lansing M. Howland was born at Sandy Hill, N. Y., in 1850. He was an officer of the Howland Paper Company, vice-president of the Glens Falls Trust Company, president of the Fort Edward Light and Power Company. He was an active Republican and a McKinley elector in 1896. He died at Fort Edward June 11, 1901.

Mr. Howland was a man of high and noble purposes and exalted character, generous to a fault, and much beloved by all with whom he was brought in contact.



George M. Ferriss, was one of the best known citizens of Glens Falls. For many years he had maintained an extensive drug business there. He was born June 23, 1836, and died March 25, 1901.

He was a descendant of Reed Ferris, a Quaker, one of the early settlers of the Queensbury patent, and earlier a resident of Dutchess county, New York.

Many members have been added during the past year, a full list will be published with the proceedings of this meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS P. FERRIS, Secretary.

June 30, 1901.

FORT TICONDEROGA.

FRANK B. WICKES.

"If thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright, Go visit it by the pale moonlight."

IS the middle watch of a summer's night," a night not only for culprit fays and reveling fairies, but also for the historic ghosts of centuries. The moonlight of July is on mountains and water and the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga. The place appeals to us with all the power of natural beauty and great associations. For here the hand of God and the heroism of man have wrought together. And this is one of the blood-stained altars of American liberty.

Let us sit down on one of these displaced stones or on this pasture turf, and think about the three centuries of the white man's occupancy of this promontory and the three flags that have waved above it.

From Champlain to Montcalm is an hundred and fifty years. This was the period of the oriflamme, the scarlet banner of ancient France; for the tricolor dates only from the French Revolution.

At the beginning of this period, America was only half discovered. God was just saying, in the phrase of the Boston Hymn,

"Lo, now I uncover the land that I hid of old time in the west,
As the sculptor uncovers the statue when he has wrought his best."

The New World! One of the first things in it to attract attention was this magnificant sheet of inland water, rivaling all the great lakes for size, and all the little lakes for beauty. "The

gate of the country," the Indians called it, and Lake George was "the tail of the lake." This bold bluff commanded the larger lake and "the carry place" between the two, and here at length Carillon was built,—like Quebec, and Niagara and Du Quesne and New Orleans, one of the solid pledges of the future greatness of New France.

Anglo-Saxon institutions were clinging to the stormy edge of the wild continent and

"The pilgrim fathers sat by the seaside and filled their hearts with flame."

But from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, the Frenchman traversed the great inland and the tributary waters carrying the crucifix as well as the oriflamme, planting his fortresses all the way, winning the hearts of the savages, and saying in substance as Montcalm did in words,

"The cross is our banner of victory."
"Bring lilies with full hands."

Which shall it be—the Roman Catholic or the Protestant faith, the French or the English tongue, the Civil or the Common law, Latin or Anglo-Saxon institutions?

These were the great questions that 20,000 men were trying to answer 143 years ago this month, on those hot days, in Fort Ticonderoga and the woods around it, where Lord Howe fell and the Black Watch went unflinchingly to death. These questions were not answered there. More than an hundred years had been asking them, but they were all answered at last and the very next year, in one red, autumn day, on the plateau of Quebec, on that memorable field, where now one monument rises to the memory of both Wolfe and Montcalm.

The Champlain Valley is bright with the oriflammes of its autumn woods, but above Fort Ticonderoga is seen no more the standard of scarlet and gold. The Cross of St. George is peacefully floating in its place.

From 1759 to 1775 is only sixteen years. These were years of peace for "Old Ti." Under the direction of British officers, her walls were extended and improvements of all kinds made.

And her great underground oven and cellars and wide fireplaces, in this land of abundant wood to burn, filled the fortress with the good cheer of "Merrie England."

Then came the Revolution, and the very next thing after

"The shot heard round the world,"

that the embattled farmers fired at Lexington was Ethan Allen's peremptory summons to this fortress in the gray of that morning of May and of liberty in the words that passed at once into history and became immortal because they were part of an immortal deed.

And so the British ensign came down at Ticonderoga before even there were any stars and stripes to take its place. Our flag was not adopted until afterwards.

But two years later, when Burgoyne came sweeping up the Valley, the stars and stripes were there. And Washington felt sure they would stay there.

Burgoyne has had a great deal of credit for his discovery of Mt. Defiance; but the year before he made his road, and planted his guns and his standard among the pines at its summit, and gave it its exulting name, three young Americans of the garrison at "Fort Ti." demonstrated the military character of this eminence. These young men were John Trumbull, afterwards famous as a painter, who was the first to see it, Benedict Arnold and Anthony Wayne. They climbed to the top of this mountain, which was said to be inaccessible, and practiced with ordnance to show its capabilities. But men and means were lacking and it was not occupied by the Americans.

As, under cover of the night, St. Clair's garrison stole away up the narrows of the Lake between the somber forests that walled its near-by shores, there was no martial music or triumphant boat-song to keep time for the oars, but heavy hearts instead and silence and fear.

But it was all for the best. Burgoyne was being lured on into the jaws of the trap from which he was never to escape. The new flag was soon to come back to be forever the flag of Ticonderoga and the whole country.

Shall the flag come back again to "Old Fort Ti." in another sense? Shall its ruined walls be restored?

In the ooze of the lake-bed, under the water below the Fort, lost cannon are buried. They spoke a brave language once upon a time, and they have long lain there unrescued. But they are still eloquent as the bells of the German poet's sunken city and they join with the crumbling walls above in an appeal to Congress and the nation, "Bring back the flag to 'Old Fort Ti."

ETHAN ALLEN.

Rev. Ernest Melville, A. M.

W E do not know where Ethan Allen was born nor when.
One biographer says at Litchfield, Conn., January 10,
1737. Another says 1737 or 1738. Yet another declares he was born at Roxbury. While the inscription on the plain marble tablet which marks the spot where his body rests indicates that he was born in 1739.

But what does it matter where a man was born, or when? The question is, What was he? No matter about dates of birth or death, What did the man do between the two, whenever they occurred? This is our task to-day; to outline in the short space of fifteen or twenty minutes the sayings and doings of one who played a great part in the Revolutionary War; and perhaps a still more important part in the history of the New England States.

Turning to the Encyclopedia Britannica for information respecting the hero of this paper, we find the following meager note under the heading, "The History and Constitution of the United States:" "Allen, Ethan, was born in Roxbury, Conn., January 10, 1737. He removed about 1766 to Vermont, where he became leader of Vermonters, or 'Green Mountain Boys,' in their struggles against New York. In 1775 he was leader of the party which surprised Ticonderoga. Captured the same year, he was sent a prisoner of war to England, and not exchanged until 1778. He died at Burlington, Vt., February 12, 1789."

Let us take this as a rough sketch of a picture to be filled in with lines and incidents and colors borrowed from fuller and more admiring recording. The parents of Ethan were people of good character. The father a farmer in comfortable circumstances. Both father and mother did their part in obeying the first recorded command, for Ethan was the eldest of eight children, six sons and two daughters, several of which were pioneers of population and prosperity amongst the Green Mountains. At the age of thirty or thereabout, he removed to Bennington, Vt.

Those were troublous times. The cause goes back half a century or more. It is upon record that, up to the time of the close of the French war in 1760, the then territory now composing the State of Vermont was an uncultivated wilderness. This wilderness had been sparsely inhabited by settlers from the Eastern States, especially from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. But the Governors of all the States east encouraged emigration to the fertile acreages between Connecticut and Lake Champlain, and they each gave grants of land to those who determined to settle there. As these grants or charters increased, and the territory became more thickly populated, the people were naturally interested in knowing the exact limits of their possessions, and it was found in many instances that there were conflicting claims to the same tract of country. As an example, the Governor of New Hampshire had granted charters to many settlers. In 1764 the number of townships amounted to 138, and by this means he accumulated a large fortune accruing from fees and gifts, and a reserve of 500 acres made in every township for himself. This aroused the jealousy of the Governor of New York, who caused a proclamation to be issued, in which he claimed the inhabited territory under the terms of an ancient charter given by King Charles II. Wentworth, the Governor of New Hampshire, issued another, pronouncing the charter obsolete, and assuring the settlers that the grants he had made would be confirmed by royal authority. I have not time to trace the contentions and feelings of unrest and enmity which followed, but shall content myself by saying that the township of Bennington was situated in the heart of the contested territory. was at this period that Ethan Allen appeared upon the scene, and, in one of the trials before the court held in Albany,

he was intrusted with the defense, or, rather, he acted as agent for the defense, of the settlers under the New Hampshire charter. The court in Albany carried matters with a high hand, declaring the New Hampshire commission and grants were not worth the paper on which they were written, and directing the jury to find a verdict for the plaintiffs, or those who claimed under the charters issued by the Governor of New York. No wonder that the spirit of the lay lawyer changed into the spirit of the soldier, and that when the Attornev-General advised him "to go home and tell his friends to make the best terms they could for their farms and settlements with their new landlords," he replied, "The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills;" and when asked what he meant, he answered, "If you will accompany me to Hill Bennington you will see!" In that epigrammatic reply we have indications of the stuff of which our hero was made. If there is one sentence in the whole history of politics we hate more than another it is "the Tory slang about the Divine right of kings," and another which is born of it, and which the New York party endeavored to put into practice, "Might makes right." A devil's maxim! and it ought always to be so regarded. Minorities have rights as well as majorities, and any man or any number of men refusing to act honorably and justly with the weakest ought to meet face to face with Ethan Allen's god of the hills. Brave man thus to beard the lion in its den, we expect to hear and see more of thee in this life of turmoil and strife! Nor shall we be disappointed.

Encouraged by the success of the case just narrated, the New Yorkers continued to bring actions for ejectment against the settlers under the New Hampshire grants in what is now known as the State of Vermont. Gaining those actions, attempts were then made to carry out by force the notices served, whereupon a military association was formed by the farmers, who appointed Allen commander, conferring upon him the title of colonel. The command assumed the name of "The Green Mountain Boys." Wherever the agents of the court in Albany went, they were met by this invincible band and driven off. "The gods of the hills prevailed!"

Here is an incident well known to the readers of history, but perhaps the public are not so familiar with it, which will indicate somewhat the daring of the man. A reward of £20 was offered by the Governor of New York for his capture. Allen immediately offered a reward of £25 to any one for the capture of the two men who had been sent to enforce the decisions of the Albany court; but he did more than this; he made a bet that he would proceed to Albany in spite of the proclamation, "alight at the most prominent house of entertainment, drink a bowl of punch and finally escape unharmed." The bet was accepted. Allen proceeded to Albany to carry out its terms. The news soon spread that "Ethan Allen was in the city." A large concourse of people gathered round the house, among whom was the sheriff of Albany county. Allen was wholly unmoved. Having finished his punch, he mounted his horse and, giving a hearty huzza for the Green Mountains, departed unharmed, and the record runs: "Those who were disposed to arrest him drew back with caution, feeling the enterprise would be accompanied with much danger."

But events of much greater import were rising upon the horizon of colonial politics. New York had endeavored to enforce wrong by power, and, what New York had tried to do upon a sister State or territory, England endeavored to accomplish upon all the States. She opposed the erection of factories in the colonies on the ground that it would hurt the home market. Next, the Parliament endeavored to levy taxes upon the colonists without giving them any representation. In 1765 the famous Stamp Act was passed, only to be repeated the following year. Then came the tax on tea and other articles of daily consumption, and with the news came a body of troops to enforce its provisions. Other events of like character followed in quick succession, which I have no time or business to chronicle, all of them, however, leading to the point of revolution, caused by the ignoring of the principle by the crown that representation ought always to accompany taxation. As an Englishman, may I be permitted to say I thoroughly believe in that principle? I am glad your American forefathers had the courage to uphold it, and that they gained their independence.

We pass by any notice of Concord and Lexington and proceed to Ticonderoga, which was the key to the situation on Lakes George and Champlain, and regulated to a great extent any operations which might be carried on from Canada. fort at Ticonderoga was then in the hands of the British. The work of securing it for the Americans was intrusted to Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain boys, and on the first week in May, 1775, a force of 230 men was on its way to secure the desired object. A third of this little battalion reached Shoreham on the evening of the ninth of May and endeavored to secure the fort early the next morning. This was attempted by Allen because he feared the light of day would reveal his weakness to the garrison. It is recorded in Bancrost's History of the United States that, just before Allen made the attack on the morning of the tenth, he said to his command: "Friends and fellow-soldiers, we must this morning quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress, and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt I do not urge it on contrary to will. You who will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelock." Every firelock was poised. "Face to the right!" commanded Allen. They marched to the tally post. The sentinel challenged and attempted to fire, but the fuse did not go off; he then turned and ran to the parade ground, within the barracks, followed by Allen and his companions. Here they were met by another sentinel, who was struck down by Allen himself. Then the aggressors shouted with a great shout, which aroused the garrison, who rushed into the parade ground with their arms in their hands, only to be made prisoners by Allen and his brave band. Led by a local guide, Ethan made directly for the apartment of the commandant. Knocking at the door, he ordered that official to appear instantly and surrender the Then came the familiar sentence so intimately associated with the name of Ethan Allen, for when Captain De-laplace asked by what authority he presumed to make such a demand Allen answered in tones of thunder, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" The captain vielded and Ticonderoga was won. The fort which had cost the British eight millions sterling, a succession of campaigns and many lives, passed in the course of ten minutes into

the hands of a few undisciplined volunteers without the loss of life or limb.

An amusing but authentic anecdote is given by Aaron Robinson, showing the somewhat egotistical character of Ethan Allen, which I will give abrobos of the capture of the fort. While on his way to lay his schemes before the Continental Congress, he visited Bennington, where the Rev. Mr. Dewey preached before him and other officers a sermon on the capture of Ticonderoga. In his prayer Mr. Dewey, with much fervor, poured forth his thanks to the Lord for having given the possession of this important fortress into the hands of a people struggling for the defense of their dearest rights. Allen was displeased, and, as the preacher continued in this strain of thanksgiving, he cried out: "Parson Dewey!" The reverend gentleman gave no heed to the interruption. Allen exclaimed still louder: "Parson Dewey!" But, as the minister pursued his prayer, Allen sprang to his feet and roared: "Parson Dewey!" The clergyman opened his eyes and gazed with astonishment at the interruption. Allen then said: "Parson Dewey, please make mention of My being there."

Allen next attempted to secure Montreal. He would without doubt have succeeded had he been properly supported. As it was, Allen, with his 110 men, was surrounded by 500, and, after hard fighting, he was forced to surrender. He paid the penalty of too much energy. Were it not for that, we should without doubt have to record other deeds of daring and heroism in the place of suffering and protesting under the English flag. For three years he was confined, a prisoner of war, either upon land or sea, the treatment he received being for the most part of the greatest inhumanity, the record of which will be forever a disgrace to the British arms. "War is hell," we know well, but it is a tenfold disgrace to men who make the fire hotter than it need be by their deliberate inhumanity. Any one may read the record of those three years and form his or her own judgment; my own is that the inhuman treatment he received was the cause of his death at the comparatively early age of fifty or fifty-two. He regained his liberty in the May of 1778, when he was exchanged for Colonel Archibald Campbell. He landed at Elizabethtown point, and,

to use his own words, "in a transport of joy set his foot on liberty's ground." As he advanced into the country, he received the acclamations of a grateful people. He repaired to Valley Forge, then the headquarters of General Washington. To him he offered his services on behalf of his country as soon as his shattered health should be sufficiently restored. Taking leaving of the General, he went on to Bennington, arriving there on the last day of May, 1778. His appearance in the old home was greeted with joy mingled with surprise, for by his old friends and followers he had been given up for dead.

In subsequent years he took a leading part in the enrollment of New Connecticut, as the district was then called, in the Union under the name of Vermont. It was at this time he made another memorable and characteristic speech. Opposition to his views was manifested by some of the people of the town of Guilford. The two parties in this town (the friends of Vermont and New York) had each an organization, and in some cases there were two sets of town officers. General Allen marched from Bennington with about 100 of his Green Mountain boys, and upon arriving at Guilford he issued the unique proclamation: "I, Ethan Allen, declare that, unless the people of Guilford peaceably submit to the authority of Vermont, I will make the town as desolate as were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, by God!" It is needless to say submission was soon made.

Thus we have seen Allen the pioneer, the soldier, the prisoner, the patriot. Just one word about him as an author. The history of his own life, written by himself, is full of interest. His pamphlets on theological subjects shocked the orthodox of the day, but I think he succeeded in showing the reasonableness of religion as opposed to the inconsistencies and contradictions of the then received theology. In the words of another, his style was "bold, artful, egotistical and unpolished, but evincing remarkably strong mental powers." As a man he was upright, honest, and transparent; had we known him we should have loved him, loved him for his sterling honesty and straightforwardness, his way of saying just what he meant and meaning just what he said; speaking out and acting out what he believed to be true and right, without quibbling or mental reser-

vation; saying and doing, even though it was not popular and perhaps not politic. We should also have loved him for his patriotism, his bravery, his indomitable courage, and his resolve to do his own thinking, and methods of speech and action. And had it been ours to stand beside his grave when "the dust returned to earth," as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it, we should have said, with reverential awe and love:

"Soldier of Christ, well done! Rest from thy loved employ.
The battle's fought, the victory's won! Enter thy Master's joy.

'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.'"

LORD HOWE.

Prof. George A. Ingalls, A. B.

SEORGE AUGUSTUS, Viscount Howe, was the son of Emanuel Scrope, the second of the same title in the peerage of Ireland, and was the eldest of three brothers. all British officers connected with American history, all in turn holders of the same title, the differences in whose ages are covered by the brief span of five years. The second son, Richard, after holding the office of treasurer of the navy and that of member of Parliament for Dartmouth, as vice-admiral in 1778, encountered the French fleet under D'Estaing in an indecisive battle off the coast of Rhode Island; not long after, on his return to England, he served against the French, and died in 1779, after being made successively a peer of Great Britain, admiral and knight of the garter. William, the third son, commanded the infantry under Wolfe, on the Heights of Abraham; succeeded Gage as commander of the British forces in North America; commanded at Bunker Hill and on Long Island; repelled the Americans at Germantown, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton in 1778.

The career of the eldest son belongs to an earlier period of our history and is much shorter than that of either of his brothers. Indeed, some cyclopedists and compilers of biography, who pay due respect to the two younger men, bestow not a word upon the eldest. The events of his life may be summarized as follows: He was born in 1724 and on the death of his father in 1735 succeeded to the title. In 1757, while colonel in command of the 60th regiment, he was sent to America; reached Halifax in July; was appointed colonel of the 55th foot in September, and brigadier-general in December. He died in Abercrombie's advance on Ticonderoga, July 6, 1758. Some

discrepancies appear in the biographic sketches. The editor of documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, for example, in a biographic note on p. 735 of vol. 10, gives the year of Lord Howe's birth as 1725 and the date of his death as July 8th. Yet in Abercrombie's report to Pitt, dated July 12, 1758, and given in the same volume at p. 725, the date stated is July 6th, as it is also in Montcalm's report of the battle of Ticonderoga (p. 738, id.). A careful reading of Montcalm's letter to Vaudreuil, dated July 9, 1758 (p. 749, id.), will show that the date is not given as July 8th in that somewhat confused account. In a report on the condition of New France to the Marshal de Belle Isle (p. 895, id.), the date July 6th is again given. As to the date of his birth, suffice it to say that 1724 is the date given in Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography and in other like reliable authorities.

When Lord Howe reached America in 1757, in the midst of the Seven Years' War, the elder Pitt, England's real ruler, had planned to accomplish three things in his struggle with France in America. Says Parkman: "His first aim was to take Louisbourg as a step towards taking Quebec; then Ticonderoga, that thorn in the side of the northern colonies; and lastly Fort Duquesne, the key of the Great West. He recalled Loudon, for whom he had a fierce contempt; but there were influences which he could not disregard, and Major-General Abercrombie, who was next in order of rank, an indifferent soldier, though a veteran in years, was allowed to succeed him and lead in person the attack on Ticonderoga. Pitt hoped that Brigadier-General Lord Howe, an admirable officer, who was joined with Abercrombie, would be the real commander and make amends for all shortcomings of his chief."

Why did this young man stand so high in the esteem of the brilliant and arrogant Pitt? No better answer to this question can I find than the sketch of Lord Howe contained in the book entitled "Memoirs of an American lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America as they existed Previous to the Revolution." And first, a few words regarding the author of these memoirs. Mrs. Grant of Laggan, born in 1755, was the daughter of Duncan MacVicar, an officer in a Highland regiment, who was ordered to America in her infancy. The mother

and daughter went to join him and settled in Claverack on the Hudson. There the daughter learned to speak Dutch. 1762, the talents of the little girl attracted the attention of Mrs. Schuyler of Albany with whom she afterwards resided for some years. After the conquest of Canada, MacVicar obtained a grant of land in Vermont, resigning his commission. health compelled him to return to Scotland with his family in 1768.. His land was confiscated after the outbreak of the Revolution. His daughter married the Rev. James Grant of Laggan, and, left by his death in straitened circumstances, began in 1807 her memoirs, which are a tribute to the memory of her friend and patroness Mrs. Schuyler, the mother of General Philip Schuyler. Such careful historians as Parkman and Winsor refer to her memoirs in their characterization of Lord Howe, and this fact, coupled with her evident opportunities for knowing the events of the time of which she writes, as well as the keenness of observation apparent on well nigh every page of the memoirs, must justify my lengthy quotation.

"General Abercrombie," says Mrs. Grant, "who commanded on the northern lakes, was a brave and able man, though rather too much attached to the military schools of those days to accommodate himself to the desultory and uncertain warfare of the woods, where sagacity, ready presence of mind joined with the utmost caution, and a condescension of opinion to our Indian allies were of infinitely more consequence than rules and tactics, which were mere shackles and incumbrances in this contention with difficulties and perplexities more harassing than mere danger. Indeed, when an ambuscade or sudden onset was followed by defeat, here (as in Braddock's case) the result reminded one of the rout of Absalom's army; where, we are told, the wood devoured more than the sword. The general was a frequent guest with Madame (Mrs. Schuyler) when the nature of his command would permit him to relax from the duties that occupied him. He had his men encamped below Albany in that great field which I have formerly described as the common pasture for the town. Many of the officers were quartered in the fort and the town; but Lord Howe always lay in his tent with the regiment which he commanded and which he modeled in such a manner that they were ever after considered as an example to the whole American army, who gloried in adopting all those rigid yet salutary regulations to which this young hero submitted to enforce his commands by his example.

"Above the pedantry of holding up standards of military rules where it was impossible to practice them, and the narrow spirit of preferring the modes of his own country to those proved by experience to suit that in which he was to act, Lord Howe laid aside all pride and prejudice and gratefully accepted counsel from those whom he knew to be best qualified to direct him. Madame was delighted with the calm steadiness with which he carried out the austere rules which he found necessary to lay down. In the first place, he forbade all displays of gold and scarlet in the rugged march they were about to undertake, and set the example by wearing himself an ammunition coat, that is to say, one of the surplus soldiers' coats cut short. This was a necessary precaution, because in the woods the hostile Indians who started from behind the trees usually caught at the long and heavy skirts then worn by the soldiers; and, for the same reason, he ordered the muskets to be shortened, that they might not, as on former occasions, be snatched from behind by these agile foes. To prevent the march of his regiment from being descried at a distance by the glittering of their arms, the barrels of their guns were all blackened; and to save them from the tearing of bushes, the stings of insects, etc., he set them the example of wearing 'leggans,' a kind of buskin made of strong woollen cloth, formerly described as a part of the Indian dress. The greatest privation to the young and vain remained. Hair well dressed and in great quantity was then considered the greatest possible ornament, which those who had it took the utmost care to display to advantage and to wear in a bag or queue, whichever they fancied. Lord Howe's was fine and very abundant; he, however, cropped it and ordered every one else to do the same. Every morning he rose very early, and, after giving his orders, rode out to the flats, breakfasted and spent some time in conversation with his friends there; and when in Albany, received all manner of useful information from the worthy magistrate Cornelius Cuyler. Another point which this young Lycurgus of the camp wished to establish was

that of not carrying anything that was not absolutely necessary. An apparatus of tables, chairs and such other luggage he thought highly absurd where people had to force their way with unspeakable difficulty, to encounter an army free from all such encumbrances. The French had long learnt how little convenience could be studied on such occasions as the present.

"When his Lordship got matters arranged to his satisfaction. he invited his officers to dine with him in his tent. They gladly assembled at the hour appointed, but were surprised to see no chairs nor tables; there were, however, bearskins spread like a carpet. His Lordship welcomed them and sat down on a small log of wood; they followed his example; and presently the servants set down a large dish of pork and pease. His Lordship taking a sheath from his pocket out of which he produced a knife and fork began to cut and divide the meat. They sat in a kind of awkward suspense, which he interrupted by asking if it were possible that soldiers like them, who had been so long destined for such a service, should not be provided with portable implements of this kind; and finally relieved them from their embarrassment by distributing to each a case, the same as his own, which he had provided for that purpose. The austere regulations and constant self-denial which he imposed upon the troops he commanded were patiently borne, because he was not only gentle in his manner but generous and humane in a very high degree and exceedingly attentive to the health and real necessities of the soldiery."

Mrs. Grant also says that he gave a quantity of powdered ginger to each man in his command, and ordered that it be mixed with the water which they drank while on the march. This he intended should be a means of keeping off the ague.

She also says: "The Schuylers regarded this expedition with a mixture of doubt and dismay, knowing too well from the sad retrospect of former failures how little valor and discipline availed where regular troops had to encounter with unseen foes and with difficulties arising from the nature of the ground for which military science afforded no remedy."

The force which Abercrombie was to lead against Ticonderoga was gathered at the head of the lake in June, 1758. In a letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated 12th July, 1758, he says: "The embarkation of the artillery, stores, and provisions being completed on the evening of the 4th instant, next morning at break of day the tents were struck and all the troops, amounting to 6,367 regulars, officers, light infantry, and rangers included, and 9,024 provincials, including officers and bateau men, embarked in about 900 bateaux and 135 whale boats, the artillery to cover our landing being mounted on rafts.

"At five in the evening reached Sabbath-day Point (25 miles down the lake), where we halted till ten, then got under way again and proceeded to the landing place (leading to the French advance guard) which we reached early next morning, the 6th.

"Upon our arrival sent out a reconnoitering party, and having met with no opposition landed the troops, formed them in 4 columns, regulars in the center and provincials on the flanks, and marched toward the enemy's advanced guard, composed of one battalion posted in a logged camp, which upon our approach they deserted, first setting fire to their tents and destroying everything they could; but as their retreat was very precipitate, they left several things behind which they had not time either to burn or carry off. In this camp we likewise found one prisoner and one dead man. The army in the foregoing order continued their march through the wood on the west side with a design to invest Ticonderoga; but the woods being very thick, impassable with any regularity to such a body of men, and the guides unskilful, the troops were bewildered and the columns broke, falling in, one upon another.

"Lord Howe at the head of the right center column supported by the light infantry being advanced fell in with a French party supposed to consist of about 400 regulars and a few Indians, who had likewise lost themselves in their retreat from the advanced guard; of these our flanks killed a great many and took 148 prisoners, among whom were 5 officers and 3 cadets.

"But this small success cost us very dear, not as to the loss of numbers, for we had only two officers killed, but as to the consequence, Lord Howe being the first man that fell in the skirmish."

In speaking of the effect of the news of Lord Howe's death on Mrs. Schuyler, Mrs. Grant says: "The mind of our good aunt (Mrs. Schuyler) had been so engrossed by her anxieties and fears for the event impending and so impressed by the merit and magnanimity of her favorite hero that her wonted firmness sunk under the stroke and she broke out into bitter lamentations. This had such an effect on her friends and domestics that shrieks and sobs of anguish echoed through every part of the house." Mrs. Schuyler was not alone in her grief. "The noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best soldier in the British army," says Wolfe, in a letter to his father, written in August, 1758. Pitt in writing to Grenville that same month calls him "a character of ancient times; a complete model of military virtue."

Most significant is the resolution of the General Court of Massachusetts, which is in the following words:

"Bearing testimony to the sense which the province had of the services and military virtues of the late Lord Viscount Howe who fell in the last campaign fighting in the cause of the colonies, and also to express the affection which their officers and soldiers bore to his command, ordered that the sum of 250 pounds be paid out of the publick treasury to the order of the present Lord Viscount Howe for the erection of a monument to his Lordship's memory, to be built in such manner and situated in such place as the present Lord Viscount Howe shall choose; and that his Excellency, the Governor, be desired to acquaint his Lordship therewith in such manner that the testimony be engraved on such monument."

It should be remembered in connection with this appropriation that Massachusetts, to meet her war debt, had at this time imposed upon herself taxes "amounting in the town of Boston to 13 shillings and 2 pence to every pound of income from real and personal estate." (Pownall; cited by Parkman.)

Upon the cenotaph erected according to the terms of this resolution in Westminster Abbey is this inscription:

"The Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, by an order of the Great and General Court bearing date I February, 1759, caused this monument to be erected to the memory of George, Lord Viscount Howe, Brigadier-General of His Majesty's Forces in North America, who was slain 6 July, 1758, on his march to Ticonderoga, in the 34th year of his age, in testimony of the sense they had of his services and military virtues and the affection their officers and soldiers bore to his command. He lived respected and beloved. The public regret his loss; to his family it is irreparable."

I shall not discuss the question of the place of his burial. Two monographs upon that subject addressed to the Albany Institute go over the evidence with great thoroughness. They are to be found in the State Library and are well worth careful reading. After reading them both I have not formed a decided opinion on the subject.

One naturally wonders what the fortune of the attack would have been had Lord Howe lived to direct it. Whatever one's speculation may be as to the outcome, there can be little doubt that, under his leadership, the awful blundering and loss of life due to Abercrombie would have been prevented. Was Lord Howe, then, unhappy in the time of his death? Not altogether, I think. A little more than two years after his death, George III. came to the throne,—that "dull lad," as Thackeray says, "brought up by narrow-minded people." Would not the heart of such a broad-souled gentleman as Lord Howe have been torn apart in the service of such a master - by sympathy for the King's purity in the midst of a cynical and dissolute society; by fellowship with the King in his genuine love of the English people; by contempt for his bigotry, his unreasoning obstinacy, his hostility to the colonists? For, let us remember, George III. aimed to be king in fact as well as in name, and succeeded, too. Imagine the feelings with which Lord Howe would have beheld the magnificent trans-Atlantic empire established by the genius of the elder Pitt fall apart within twenty-five years after 1758.

Had they been able to look forward one-quarter century into the future, the sorrowing group of British regulars and Continentals who surrounded the bier of the fallen hero might well have said:

[&]quot;Vex not his ghost: O, let him pass. He hates him That would upon the rack of this tough world Stretch him out longer."

LEGEND OF DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

ROBERT O. BASCOM.

WHETHER in old times the human soul was endowed with powers which it does not now possess, or whether, as some believe, it still possesses powers of so subtle a nature as to elude definition and classification, must, perhaps, forever remain a matter of vague and visionary conjecture. Certain it seems that, among the Scottish clans, there have from time to time appeared individuals endowed with gifts that enabled them to say, with no great stretch of poetic license:

"'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore, And coming events cast their shadows before."

One of these tales of premonition — of second sight — or of anticipatory vision, call it what you will, has cast a kind of mystic halo around the gray, grim walls of Ticonderoga — affluent with realistic memories of historic emprise and heroic adventure.

This story of the troubled life and death of Duncan Campbell, which takes its rise in the land of the heather and the clan, and finds its consummation before the walls of Ticonderoga, is one of the links that not only binds the Old World to the New, but seems to unite this world, which is visible and material, with that which is invisible and immaterial.

On the western coast of Scotland, where the shore line is broken by the indentation of the Great Glen, which extends from Inverness to Loch Linnhe, on the eastern side of the loch, in that part of Scotland commonly known as Argyleshire, dwelt the Stewarts of Appin. To the south and east of the Stewarts dwelt the Campbell clan. Not far from where Loch Linnhe enters the main land an apparent branch, a little

to the south, cuts in and is called Loch Etive — a sea loch, with rugged shores covered with tangled wildwood. All the country hereabout is rough and wild, abounding in lochs, rivers and glens, hills and vales, and over all towers the maiestic peak Ben Cruachen. Near by the river Deergan, "the river of the red stain," debouches into Loch Crieran. The valley through which the river falls is precipitous, and at its mouth some four or five large boulders in the bed of the stream are called stepping-stones. This place is still known as the "murderer's ford," and the glen itself is called Glen Saleach the "dirty pass." The second of the stepping-stones, tradition says, is the spot where Donald Campbell was murdered by Stewart of Appin, and the tragedy is known as the "murder of Loch Crieran." Following down the stream and crossing the ford at Loch Etive and ascending the hill beyond, Inverawe is reached, situate upon a slight eminence overlooking the River Awe, not far from where it empties into the Loch Awe. Here, surrounded by hills, and at the foot of Ben Cruachen, stands the old castle — the home of Duncan Campbell — Laird of Inverawe.

It seems that about 1742 Duncan Campbell, an officer of the Highland regiment known as the Black Watch, was sent to Lorn, in Argyleshire, to harry and distress the adherents of Prince Charles Edward. Returning from the discharge of this unpleasant duty, he was separated from his followers, and, night falling rapidly, he lost his way among the many mountain passes; when, turning sharply into a ravine, he was startled to find himself confronted by a stalwart Highlander, with black hair and piercing eyes. Each grasped his sword, when the stranger accosted him and demanded his errand. Duncan replied that he had lost his way and required a guide: a voice from behind said, "He is alone, else we would not have suffered him to pass." Whereupon the stranger escorted Duncan to an unknown camp in the recesses of the mountains, gave him food to eat, and shared his couch with him. The stranger refused to reveal his name, but it was apparent that he knew who Duncan was and his errand in that part of the Highlands. When day broke the Highlander escorted his guest past the sentinels and set him on the road toward his own home.

verawe expressed his gratitude in fitting terms, and vowed he would repay the kindness shown him if the opportunity ever afforded. In time he came to know that his benefactor was none other than Donald Campbell, a member of the same clan as that to which he himself belonged. This adventure. which is strikingly similar to that of Fitz James and Rhoderic Dhu, had become well-nigh forgotten, and years afterward, when Inverawe asked for and obtained leave of absence from his military duties, one night, while sitting alone in his castle, he was startled from his reverie by the sound of hasty footsteps at his door, accompanied by loud and hurried rappings. Answering the summons, he was surprised to find at his door Stewart of Appin, a man for whom he had but little love. In hurried words Stewart told his host that in a feud he had slain a man: that he was pursued; his life was now in danger: he besought Campbell to give him sanctuary, and asked an oath of secrecy. His distress, the extremity of his need and evident terror prevailed. Duncan Campbell gave the required oath and received Stewart of Appin into his castle, where he was secreted in an underground room. Scarcely had Campbell returned from this errand, when a second alarm, louder and more imperative than the first, called him again to his door, where he was confronted by a band of his own clansmen, who told him that at the stepping-stones in the ford of the Deergan his kinsman — Donald Campbell — had been slain by Stewart of Appin: not in open, manly fight, but treacherously and by a blow in the back: the assassin had made his escape; the hue and cry raised and the murderer followed through difficult and obscure passes in the direction of Inverawe. Campbell, sick at heart at the thought of concealing the murderer of one of his own clan who had thus been foully slain, and to whose chivalric generosity he owed his life, vet mindful of the obligations of his oath, gave an evasive answer to the pursuing party and sent them away. That night, after he had retired to his chamber, which is still called the "Ghost Chamber" at Inverawe, in the "dread, vast and middle of the night," he was awakened by a light "like that which never shone on land or sea." It filled the room and he distinctly saw the manly form of Donald Campbell of Lorn - his murdered clansman, his jet-black hair disheveled, his clothing disarranged and soiled with blood. He instantly recognized the apparition as that of his former benefactor. The consciousness that beneath his own roof he now gave shelter to the cowardly murderer filled his soul with remorse and regret. The silence was broken by the ghostly visitor, who said:

"Inverawe, Inverawe; blood has been shed; shield not the murderer."

After which the vision disappeared. When morning broke and

"The dawning beam
Purpled the mountain and the stream,"

the memory of the vision of the man and of the voice troubled the mind of Duncan Campbell. He sought Stewart of Appin in his hiding-place and plainly told him that, while, by reason of his oath, he would not betray him, yet he could no longer shelter him. Stewart reminded him of his promise, and at his entreaty Duncan led him to a secure hiding-place in the solitary mountain passes of Ben Cruachen. But the recollection of the horrors of that night haunted him through his waking hours, and the second night, as he sat before his fire reading, as was his custom before retiring, his hound, his sole companion, trembling in every limb, began to howl in that low, dismal tone which indicates the presence of the sense of terror in the brute creation. Raising his eyes from his book, he again saw the ghostly form of Donald Campbell of Lorn standing before him, radiant in the sheen of the same weird light. There was the same unearthly presence; the black hair, the piercing eyes, the same disheveled dress, the same ghastly blood-stain; the hands were outstretched as if asking for aid. The hound's broken whimpering sank almost into silence, and again the apparition spoke:

"Inverawe, Inverawe; blood has been shed; blood must atone for blood; shield not the murderer."

And in a moment the vision faded in the air and was gone. All that night the sense of horror of the supernatural presence filled the soul of Duncan Campbell, and the recollection of the spoken words lingered long in his memory. In the morning he sought the spot in the mountain wilderness where he had left the murderer, but he was gone. All the second day the memories of the past, the vision, the voice, and the gesture of the apparition harassed his soul, and the third night, weary with watching, he sought his couch, but, as the midnight hour approached, he was again awakened by that undefinable feeling which accompanies the consciousness of the presence of an invisible person. And the third time he saw the vision accompanied with all of the customary demonstrations, but this time the voice was not one of warning, nor was the attitude of the apparition that of supplication, but, on the contrary, the tone and appearance were threatening, and the spoken words were:

"Inverawe, Inverawe; blood has been shed; blood must atone for blood. We shall meet again at Ticonderoga."

At this time the name of Ticonderoga was wholly unknown in that part of the Old World; yet the name of the final meeting-place, with the wraith of the man of Lorn, remained with Duncan Campbell, and he made diligent inquiry of his acquaint-ances as to the location of Ticonderoga. The name, unusual, troubled his mind and haunted his memory.

"It sang in his sleeping ears; it hummed in his waking head.
The name Ticonderoga, and the warning of the dead."

Time passed and, in 1758, Duncan Campbell had become a major of the Forty-second Highlanders. There was war between England and France, and the Black Watch was a part of Abercrombie's expedition directed against the French encroachments to the northward. As the army approached Ticonderoga, Abercrombie, hearing the name of the fortress, recalled to mind the story of the vision of Duncan Campbell, and, summoning the officers of the Black Watch about him, he privately directed them to call the fortress they were about to assault Fort George, and to conceal its true name from Campbell. The night before the eventful attack which resulted so disastrously to the English, Duncan Campbell, while engaged in examining the field of the prospective engagement, near dusk, while crossing the bridge which at that time spanned the outlet of Lake George, distinctly saw before him the apparition of the man of Lorn. There was no mistaking the presence. Instantly it flashed upon his mind that this must be the final rendezvous. Upon making inquiry, he learned that the place was called Ticonderoga, or Carillon. He reproached his brother officers with having deceived him, and said:

"I have seen him again: this is Ticonderoga."

His mind was filled with the most dismal forebodings, and he told his friends that he should not survive the morrow's fight. He accordingly made all his arrangements in contemplation of approaching death. In the disastrous and deadly assault the next day upon the fortifications, which occupy the slight plateau between the silvery waters of Lake George and the tawny billows of Lake Champlain, where, "in the audience of ages," Abercrombie and Montcalm "crossed the swords of France and England: where the lily of fair France in the New World sprang to greater growth, from this soil, drenched and fertilized by the blood of those who fought and followed beneath the banner of the combined crosses of St. Andrew and St. George," all the officers of the Black Watch were either slain or mortally wounded. Duncan Campbell, in the agonies of approaching death, was removed by the retreating army to Fort Edward, where, on the 17th day of July, 1758, on the ninth day after the battle, he died and was buried. In later years his remains were removed from the old burying-place in Fort Edward village to the Union Cemetery on top of the Fort Edward hill, where they now repose within the inclosure of the Gilchrist family lot. The headstone, apparently of red granite, quaintly decorated and carved with curious conceptions of immortality, old and moss-grown, and to some extent disfigured by the vandalism of unappreciative visitors, bears this inscription:

> "Here lyes the body of Duncan Campbell of Inver-"awe. Esq., Major to the Old Highland Regiment, "aged 55 years, who died the 17th July, 1758, of the "wounds he received in the attack on the Retrench-"ments of Ticonderoga or Carillon, 8th July, 1758."

Within the same inclosure are two other Campbell headstones; one erected "In memory of Mrs. Ann Campbell, of the family of Balenabe and consort of Mr. Duncan Campbell, who died August the 10th, 1777, in the 74th year of her age." The other reads: "Ann Campbell, daughter of Mr. Archibald and Mrs. Florance Campbell, who died August 11th, 1777." The contiguity of graves and the identity of names, of course, suggest, while they do not prove, consanguinity. It would be interesting to venture upon the almost wholly unexplored field of genealogical research in this connection, did not time forbid, yet perhaps it may be permitted to say that the family to which Duncan Campbell belonged traced its origin back through many Archibalds, earls and dukes of Argyle, to Archibald, the eighth earl, who placed the crown on the head of Charles II. at Scone, and to Archibald, the second earl, who fell at Flodden's fatal field, back to the Campbells of Lochow, first ennobled as barons in the fifteenth century, who then received the estates and titles of the rebellious MacDonald. This legend, so intimately connected with Ticonderoga, like all such supernatural tales, has many versions and variations. Fact and circumstance of time and place, conflict, battle and sudden death. The struggle of nations and the onward sweep of civilization. The majestic march of events have conspired to light up the ruins of the ancient fortress, with all the glamour of history and tradition, and they lend to the grave of Duncan Campbell, on the beautiful hilltop at Fort Edward —

> "Far from the hills of heather, And far from the isles of the sea,"

a mysterious interest that leads us to the very verge of the unknown world.

MONTCALM.

Rev. Andrew V. V. RAYMOND, D. D., LL. D.

PACING and fighting each other in the Old World with an inherited antagonism born of racial, political, and religious differences, it was natural and perhaps inevitable that wherever Englishmen and Frenchmen faced each other they would fight; thus the wilderness of America became the battle-ground of conflicting civilization, where the valor of France and the virtues of England strove for dominion. Hither came, in 1756, one who represented in his own person the best traditions and the best life of the proud land of his birth, the Marquis de Montcalm, by royal appointment, General-in-Chief of the French forces in America, and thus began the career which, more than any other since the period of discovery, brought glory to France in the New World. Of the man and his deeds, I am to speak.

The French forces were widely distributed, of necessity, since the frontier to be guarded was so vast, but the three points of greatest strategic importance were Louisburgt on the east, Niagara on the west and Fort Ticonderoga in the center. The last represented in many respects the greatest menace to the English, because of its proximity to the settlements on the Mohawk and the waterway of the Hudson with its relatively populous towns. Moreover, it stood as a barrier to the English in any advance toward Montreal and Quebec, since the most natural route at that time was by the way of Lake George and Lake Champlain.

It was inevitable, therefore, that any aggressive movement on the part of the English would lead to an early attack upon Fort Ticonderoga. Rumors of such a movement reached Montcalm soon after his arrival at Montreal and induced him to hasten south to inspect this important outpost. It was characteristic of the man, in sharp contrast with the practice of his predecessors, and especially with the easy-going habits of the pleasure-loving French provincial Governor, thus to respond at once to the demands of duty, moving quickly to the point of greatest danger. Despite the swiftness of his journey he found opportunity to familiarize himself with the general features of the country, with a view to future movements.

It was his first experience of the American wilderness, his first glimpse into the new and strange conditions under which he was to carry on a war for the honor of France, and, as he conceived it, for the glory of God. Traveling day and night he reached Ticonderoga, destined to be the scene of one of his greatest victories and associated forever with his name in all the honor that a soldier covets. He addressed himself immediately to the business in hand, examined all the approaches to the fort, indicated the measures to be employed in strengthening the defenses. Though small of stature his personality inspired respect and confidence. He had the instinct of command. His mind was alert, his movements quick, his speech rapid and masterful. An Indian who was surprised at his diminutive size once said, "But when I look into your eyes I see the tall pine and the glance of the eagle." The threatened attack which had hurried him to the front was not made. Two years passed before the English appeared in force to contest the possession of the little fort that controlled the waterway to the north. In the meantime the French general made his presence felt in the New World. As soon as he was assured of the safety of Ticonderoga he proceeded without delay to Sackett's Harbor, not only to inspect that fort but to organize and lead an attack upon Oswego. So quickly did he act that, when he appeared with a force of 3,000, no intimation of his purpose had reached the English. Fort Ontario on the eastern bank of the Oswego river was soon captured and its guns trained upon Fort Pepperell on the opposite bank. same time a detachment of Montcalm's force crossed the river and approached Fort Pepperell from the opposite direction, whereupon this fort also surrendered. Both forts were then totally destroyed and the victorious army returned to Sackett's

Harbor. The vigilant general, however, gave himself no rest. In a few days he was again at Ticonderoga. There seems to have been no special reason for this second visit, apart from the conviction that it was the post of greatest strategic importance, and so most liable to attack, if by any chance the English should assume the offensive. Divided counsels and the absence of any vigorous leader made that extremely improbable in the fall of 1756, but Montcalm did not know this and his recognition of what the English might do and ought to do is one of the clearest evidences of his military genius. At Ticonderoga he was in the best position to watch his enemy in possession of Fort William Henry, separated from Ticonderoga only by the length of Lake George, while a little farther south and still within easy reach was Fort Edward, another English outpost. It was to be expected of so aggressive a commander that, as soon as he found himself relieved of the necessity of defensive operations, he would think of attacking, and with this in mind he again studied the situation carefully and planned for the future, but the weather was already too severe to admit of an active campaign and he returned to Montreal for the winter. Of his trying experiences in the French capital we need not speak. He had no taste for the frivolities and social dissipation of the official circle. His mind was charged with the grave responsibilities of the war. He was alive to the seriousness of the conflict and could not forget what was before him in the whirl of pleasure that disgraced the provincial court, while his scattered soldiers, poorly fed and insufficiently clothed, were enduring the hardships of the northern winter.

Although he moved his residence to Quebec he found himself surrounded by the same general conditions, and in private letters again and again expressed the disgust that filled his soul. In addition to all this he was made to realize with everincreasing clearness the jealousy of the Governor and his secret opposition. Altogether the winter of '56 and '57 was enough to discourage and demoralize a less sturdy soldier and less loyal subject of the crown of France.

As the spring of 1757 advanced evidences multiplied of some unusual activity on the part of the English, but the French were in doubt as to the point to be attacked. It was not until

July that they becam convinced of the English designs upon Louisburg. This was Montcalm's opportunity. Louisburg was beyond reach. He could do nothing to help the garrison there. He could make a counter stroke, however, and resolved at once to attack Fort William Henry. All that he had learned at Ticonderoga the previous year now served him in good stead. Part of his army ascended Lake George in boats and part on foot along the shore. Fort William Henry was taken after a brief siege and razed to the ground. It was thought that the victorious general would push on to Fort Edward, and, once there, there was nothing to oppose his march to the south. The colonists on the Mohawk and Hudson were in terror for their property and their lives, but the French had other forces opposed to them than English forts and garrisons. Famine had visited Canada in 1756. If the harvest of '57 could not be gathered, thousands would die from starvation. It was only upon a promise of being allowed to return by harvest time that the French colonists had joined the southern expedition. The claims of humanity were imperative, and so, at the hour of victory and large opportunity. Montcalm turned back, under a higher compulsion than that of ambition or the patriotism of the battle-field. But the eves of the English had been opened anew to their danger, so long as the gateway to the north was in the hands of their enemy, with a commander so alert and intrepid, the necessity of capturing Ticonderoga was imperative. The season was too far advanced, however, for such a serious undertaking, and, besides, distrust of their leaders wrought apathy in the ranks. It was not until the following year that an English army resolutely faced the mevitable and marched upon the menacing fort. Of that army, the largest that had ever been gathered on the American continent, the magnificent spectacle of their advance upon the waters of Lake George, of the fatal errors of their commanding general, it is not my province to speak. Our place is rather within the fort and by the side of the gallant Frenchman whose genius and courage and inspiring leadership made him the one great hero of the memorable day. Montealm was not unprepared for the attack which he had long foreseen; although surprised at the overwhelming numbers of the English, he is said to have been

in doubt for a time as to the best way and even the best place to meet them. The final decision once reached, however, there was no uncertainty of action. He was, in the highest sense, in every sense, master, master of his forces, master of himself, master of the situation. He gave the commands that completed the defenses and disposed his little army of 3,500 men to meet the advance of 15,000. At noon on the eighth of July, the English appeared. At nightfall they withdrew beaten and humiliated but not for lack of courage or of persistency. Braver men never went to their death than the men who charged through fallen trees against the impenetrable barrier that protected the French, while a terrific fire from an invisible enemy swept their lines. To all but Abercrombie, safe at his headquarters, far in the rear, out of sight of the fort, the impossibility of carrying the French position by assault was apparent after the first hour of desperate fighting. He, however, in his ignorance and arrogance, gave orders to renew the attack and the men sprang to obey. Six times within as many hours they hurled themselves against the French defenses only to be beaten back with hundreds slain. The carnage was terrible beyond description.

When the sun went down 2,000 dead and dying had been carried from the field. Meanwhile behind the defenses the French fought with characteristic valor and with increasing confidence. Montcalm, stripped of his coat and of all the insignia of his office, was everywhere among his men directing, encouraging, inspiring. Cheers for the King and cheers for the general could be heard above the din of the conflict. Never for a moment, however, was vigilance relaxed. Each event of that long afternoon proved the wisdom of every precaution Montcalm had taken, and the final result established forever his reputation as a military leader.

In the morning he would have been a bold man who predicted that 15,000 of as brave soldiers as ever marched under the English flag would suffer defeat at the hands of 3,500 Frenchmen, however intrenched. Even to Montcalm there had seemed but one possible issue to such an unequal contest, and so, when the day was over and the English army in retreat, who can wonder at his expressions of exultation and gratitude. "What

a day for France!" he exclaims. "What soldiers are ours! I never saw the like." Not only of his soldiers, but to them he was generous in praise, and passed up and down the lines repeating his thanks.

And yet not to them alone did he give the glory. His religious spirit found expression in the lines of his own composing, which he caused to be inscribed on a great cross erected on the battle-field:

"Soldiers and chief and ramparts' strength are nought.

Behold the conquering cross! 'Tis God the triumph wrought."

And here we may leave him without following him to his death two years later on the field of Quebec.

Ticonderoga was the crowning achievement of his life. In the place which his clear mind first discerned as the outpost of greatest strategic importance, and toward which his thoughts and his footsteps constantly turned, he won the victory that more than any other has given his name to the world — a name that may well be remembered, since it stood for virtues that all the world honors.

Of noble birth, he was true to his inheritance as a gentleman and a man of honor. No ignoble or treacherous act stains his memory. Trained as a scholar before he became a soldier, he never lost his scholarly tastes and satisfactions, and commanded respect no less by his cultured mind than by his intrepid courage and the integrity of his life. Nurtured in an affectionate home, he retained to the last the instincts of devotion to his own beloved. His letters from America to his mother and wife and children breathe the spirit of loving loyalty. As a subject of France, he manifested an exalted patriotism that placed the honor of his country above personal feeling or personal ambition. In his relations with the Governor-General he was often stung to the quick, but he never forgot that he was the servant of the King, and so sunk himself in his country's cause. As no other official of his day in New France, he held himself true to his duty. Himself brave, he honored bravery in others, and was ever magnanimous toward the conquered. While compelled by necessity

to seek the co-operation of Indian allies, and while personally popular among them, he abhorred their barbarities, and again and again imperiled his own life to shield his prisoners when the Indians, infuriated by rum, attacked them. Never was a charge more groundless than that which his enemies preferred against him — that he was indifferent to the atrocities which followed the capture of Oswego and Fort William Henry.

But, with all his ability and personal virtues, he was doomed to final defeat as a general of France in the New World, since he fought for a cause that could not prosper. The nation which he loved and served was too corrupt and too corrupting to be given larger dominion. It required more than French valor to withstand finally the advance of English virtues, and so, with Montcalm at Quebec, died the cause for which he gave his life. And America passed forever into the control of those who had learned, however imperfectly, that "righteousness alone exalteth a nation," because "justice and judgment are the habitation of the eternal throne."

THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN FREE GOVERNMENT.

REV. C. ELLIS STEVENS, LL. D., D. C. L.

N considering the evolution of American free government, it would be interesting could we trace all the manifold factors which have had to do with the making of America. Among these, it would be of value to weigh the influences, geographical, climatic, and political, which have helped to mould our national institutions in the larger sense, and to create our distinctive national spirit. It is a pity to pass over unmentioned the forces in our upbuilding which, I may fairly say, are represented by the Dutch, German, Swedish, Irish, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish colonial settlers, or even seemingly to slight events in which native-born Americans of all varieties of European descent have contributed to the result of to-day, that we call free government. But the theme, however attractive, is far too vast for the time limit of the present occasion; and so I have no choice but to ask your forbearance if I confine myself to the essential elements of our national government itself, as outlined in our supreme law — the Constitution of the United States — and in doing so confine myself also to what historical scholars necessarily recognize as the controlling line of its development, through the Anglo-Saxon race.

Mr. Gladstone once observed, that "as the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." And this observation has often been quoted as expressing an idea, commonly received until of late, that our fabric of civil government — that our national Constitution — was, in point of fact, an invention, an original creation of the constitutional convention that met in Philadelphia



REV. CHARLES ELLIS STEVENS, PH. D., LL. D., D. C. L.

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than the adoption of the American Constitution. A single executive, for instance, is not exclusively English; but the constitutional single executive of England has been in many points of function the modern model for others. Legislatures were in old time common to all European nations. But most of them consisted of several houses or chambers, and even in England Parliament was originally composed of three houses. system of two houses, and the characteristics of those houses were the unique result of the political experience of our mother country, and came to us not by imitation but by direct inheritance; and, as I remind you, before other nations had adopted them from her example. Every civilized country has had, of course, a judiciary. But the gradual creation of the English judiciary was on lines resulting in what is now so familiar to us that we find it difficult to realize that it was not only an evolution, but one peculiar to our race, in spirit and details.

It was natural that colonies set off from the home land under conditions so distinctive should manifest a tendency to develop into organic beings, having such governmental institutions. And this, as a matter of fact, was the actual course of their development. The colonies were English colonies — colonies of the English race — and their institutions were generally of an English nature, in so far as could be in the circumstances that attended transplanting to a new soil, amid new and modifying circumstances.

The slightest examination into the political system of the thirteen colonies will demonstrate the extraordinary unanimity with which while acting separately and independently of each other, they all followed one common model. There was no departure from the main and essential features of that model on the part of any—and where at first in charter or usage, some features were lacking, popular demand was invariably made by the colonists themselves for the supply of whatever the lack might be, until the full outline of the institutions of the motherland was filled up, as nearly as applicable to colonial conditions.

Referring to this subject, and to the continuousness of the old tendency, even in later and more modern States of the American nation. Professor Bryce observes. "The similarity



of the frame of government in the thirty-two republics which make up the United States—a similarity which appears the more remarkable when we remember that each of the republics is independent and self-determined as respects its frame of government, is due to the common source whence the governments flow. They are all copies, some immediate, some mediate, of ancient English institutions." [American Commonwealth, II, 458.]

"The English Constitution was generally the type of these colonial governments," writes Sir Erskine May. "The Governor was the viceroy of the crown; the legislative council or upper chamber, appointed by the Governor, assumed the place of the House of Lords, and the representative assembly chosen by the people was the express image of the House of Commons." [Const. Hist. Eng., II, 511.] And in the words of the author of the History of the English People: "The colonists proudly looked on the constitution of their various States as copies of that of the mother country. England had given them her law, her language, her religion, and her blood." [Green, V, 217, § 1440.]

Notwithstanding mutual ties, however, it is easy to perceive, looking back from our own time, that there existed much opportunity for friction, and even for eventual separation, in the somewhat complex and undefined relations, and in the gradually diverging interests of England and her scattered children. As the colonists grew in numbers and material wealth, and began to realize their own power, interference across seas came to be less and less easy to maintain on one side, or to endure on the other. And with the fall of Canada and the consequent overthrow of a threatening French power in the north and west, they ceased to feel the need of dependence upon the empire.

When the contest came, it came as a struggle over ancient English constitutional principles. Both England and the colonies had drifted toward an opening of the whole question of their civil relations; and George III. forced the question to an issue by attempted taxation through act of Parliament. England was proud of America as her chief imperial possession, but she had not as yet learned the secret of imperial adminis-

tration - and her old customs and legal theories, lingering from days when she had been but an island kingdom, did not apply to the new conditions. By those theories, the colonists being Englishmen, were as completely subordinate to Parliament, as were all other Englishmen. True, they had long been permitted to regulate their internal affairs, and above all, to vote their own taxes; but Parliament had on sundry occasions asserted its right of taxation, and held such right to be a necessary part of its own position as supreme legislature. As the legal theory of Parliament had grown up under purely national conditions, this parliamentary claim was theoretically correct. But it did not accord with the new imperial facts. On the other hand, the colonists held that the imperial facts ought to be conceded. Though Englishmen, they were separated by wide seas from the older land, and were unable to take active part in its political life. A fundamental principle of the liberties of Englishmen, associated, as the colonists understood it, the right of representation with the right of taxation. The principle had been enunciated in their colonial legislation almost from the beginning of colonial settlement, and had been steadily acted upon by them. They were without representatives in Parliament, and, therefore, Parliament could not, in their view, rightfully tax them. They were unwilling to pay the Parliamentary tax, although, through their own representatives in the colonial legislatures, they were ready to vote more liberal supplies than those proposed by Parliament. plea was conservative, for it decreed that the then existing state of affairs should be continued. The Revolutionary War itself was fought, on the part of the colonists, in defense of what they thus held to be their rights as men of the English blood, and American independence resulted from this constitutional struggle.

But it is worth bearing in mind, that the Revolution disturbed but slightly the fabric of our civil institutions in individual colonies. "It did not," Webster has affirmed, "subvert the local laws and local legislation." It "did not," Chancellor Kent has said, "involve in it any abolition of the common law." When independence came and the old colonies were turned into new States, no real political break occurred, but constitutions embracing the essential principles of the

colonial system were adopted in all the States. And as the political usage of the colonies had come originally from England, and had been adopted and modified by colonial experience, so now, that political usage passed on to the constitutions of the new States, to be again adopted and modified by varying wants as such might arise, but with essential characteristics still maintained and steadily transmitted.

I may not pause here and now to trace the rise and fall of the first attempted central government in America, under the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." The secret of the failure of that government lay in the fact that it was a wide departure from previous political experience, in that it had no executive, and no true judiciary, and consisted of a congress with but one house, and without effective power of any kind. Its incompetency and final break down led to the calling of the Constitutional Convention, which assembled in Philadelphia in 1787, and framed the present Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution thus established was, in truth, a return to the older forms, which, though abandoned under the temporary Confederation, had never been given up by the individual colonies themselves. It was a recognition and a final ratification of the abiding facts of English constitutional usage in America. It provided the personal constitutional executive, the legislature of two houses, a judiciary, and — in completed stage - a bill of rights based upon the historic liberties of the race. The Convention practically took the model of the colonial government as it had familiarly existed, and as adopted in the State governments then freshly set up, and applied it to the nation; introducing also certain features arising from the new civil conditions in America, and others drawn directly from the contemporaneous institutions and usages of the motherland.

The late Sir Henry Maine described this fact with fair accuracy, when he said: "The Constitution of the United States is colored throughout by political ideas of British origin; and it is in reality a version of the British Constitution as it must have presented itself to an observer in the second half of the last century. * * * The modifications introduced were those, and those only, which were suggested by the new circum-

stances of the American colonies, now become independent." [Pop. Gov., 207, 253.] But let it be distinctly understood, that Americans then regarded and still regard the constitutional principles as essentially their own. English constitutional principles had become American constitutional principles. They were put to use, not because they were English, that is, not in any mere slavish imitation of England, but because we ourselves had inherited them with our very blood—they were our own, and we had made them American.

"If the brilliant success of the American Constitution proves anything," says Professor Johnson, "it does not prove, that a viable constitution can ever be 'struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.' * * * To accuse the members (of the Philadelphia Convention) of having deliberately hazarded the destinies of their country upon the outcome of an entirely new and untried instrument of government, would be an injustice against which they would have been the first to protest; and yet the intensity of posterity's admiration for their success is continually tempting new writers into what is in reality just such an accusation." [New Princeton Review, September, 1887.] And James Russell Lowell has observed with his usual felicity of expression: "They had a profound disbelief in theory, and knew better than to commit the folly of breaking with the past. They were not seduced by the French fallacy that a new system of government could be ordered like a new suit of clothes. They would as soon have thought of ordering a suit of flesh and skin. It is only on the roaring loom of time, that the stuff is woven for such a vesture of thought and expression as they were meditating." [Address on Democracy, Oct. 6, 1884.]

Members of the New York State Historical Association, I have quite missed the object with which I address you to-day on this historic spot, if I have not, in what has so far been said, made clear to you a great fact. I have taxed your patience somewhat, in order that I might let that fact tell its own story, by presenting it in its historical aspect. The institutions under which we live in this beloved land of ours are proudly American. But that does not mean that they are wholly novel. They come to us in the highest and grandest sense, as a herit-

age from the long line of our race. That heritage was already an old heritage at the time of the Revolution. The war of the Revolution was fought *because* it was a heritage, and to defend and enforce, not new liberties, but old liberties that flow in our very blood.

The average American of to-day is apt to forget this fact. He is apt at times to ignore the formative Colonial and Revolutionary Periods and to trust to the immense material greatness of the present. He regards our civil institutions in a light very different from that in which they were regarded by the founders of this nation. The tendencies of our contemporaneous political life, meanwhile, are not all of a kind reflecting honor upon us. And there are dangers in modern generations that threaten the very spirit of our government.

If I understand aright the aim of this Association — it is to worthily uphold the principles of the men who built our ship of state, and to keep fresh the history of their achievements. You who are the sons of the fathers, you surely, are not slow to understand what is meant by a heritage. The institutions that have come down to us, we will hand on to our children, God helping us. And we are ready, if need be, to suffer and die, as did our sires, in defense of what our noble history stands for.

But the full force of the meaning of this heritage, it is well for us to ponder. The period of the American Revolution is naturally and properly a prominent period in American minds. It nevertheless is worth while to remember, that the American Revolution was the logical sequence of a long conflict — of the great battle of freedom, which was a battle of the centuries. Our blood is free blood. The Constitution of the United States was a result of the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence breathes the very same spirit as the Bill of Rights of that other Revolution of 1088 which banished the Stuarts from the old English throne forever. That in turn was a true outcome of the Petition of Right of the struggle with Charles I — a struggle in which the fathers of our fathers bore doughty part. And all these were but the historical consequence of Magna Charta The fabric of our freedom has been todsomely out-worked It has

[&]quot;Widen'd with the process of the suns."

And so I say, our heritage was an old heritage already, when our fathers fought for it a hundred years or so ago. And it should, for that reason, be all the more sacred to us their sons. For the American Revolution was one event—to us a crowning event—in the long series, which has surely, if slowly, developed the widest, strongest, noblest liberty the world has ever known, the liberty of the great Anglo-Saxon peoples.

To-day, when the smoke of the old Revolutionary battle has cleared away; when they sleep in peace, and many of them side by side — those brothers of a common race — who fought against each other that century since; to-day we can afford to be broad and magnanimous. To-day, with many new ties reuniting the mother and the daughter countries, we need not fear to mete out a meed of generous and chivalric admiration for what is best and truest in old England. We rise above such ignoble, base-born thought as, that hostility should be remembered forever. And while there is scant danger that any one will accuse such loyal Americans as we are of servile inclination to hold aught in esteem merely because it is English — we are bold enough to challenge any man's right to question our proper tribute of respect to the land that still holds in its bosom the sacred ashes of our old-time ancestors of hall or hamlet.

It seems to me that these are wholesome thoughts. We do well to consider them. In the hurried, thoughtless present, it is wise to call to mind, that what we love best, and regard as noblest, and most really essential in our institutions, is safely founded upon an historical past. The storms may fiercely come. Leaden skies, and driving clouds may engloom us,—the fury of the tempest beat mercilessly upon us, in some hour of the nation's stress. But the English oak our fathers planted here has grown old, and gnarled, and staunch, and great of girth—and its firm fibers are rooted deep in the soil. What recks it of the passing of sunshine, or of hurricane—that sturdy oak, whose life is bounded by the succeeding circles of the centuries, growing only more strong with the on-going of the years!

And this brings me to a further thought it is fitting we should have in mind. You have done well to come here to

ponder upon the past. Our Constitution may not have the name of God in it; nor does it need to have: For if ever there was a nation, that had the name of God inscribed in living letters upon every page of its history, we are that nation.

Why is it that we read a sequence in the long story of Anglo-Saxon freedom? Why is it, that at every epoch in the history of our old home-land, or of this, our new home-land, events have turned, in the long run, ever in one direction? Why is it, that mighty leaders, just whom we needed, and just when we needed, have been ever raised up to lead forward — and in one way, forward — at every crisis through which we have passed? Here in America, what mean to us the names of Washington and Lincoln?

Can we doubt, especially we Americans, that

"Thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs?

Can we doubt that God has trained the Anglo-Saxon man to be the uplifter of manhood among other men? When the hour of ripeness had come God gave to England an empire, bounded by all seas, and in touch with all climes. The force of this is only beginning to be felt. When the hour of ripeness had come, so far as we were concerned, God planted a people mainly of that same blood, here on the best of continents, to shelter the outcasts of all nations - and now, as it would seem, whether we wish or no, to join in the Anglo-Saxon advance around the world. What future is in store for us, with what responsibility, who can fully say? Neither England nor America have at all times acted justly. Our own contact, here on our own soil, with red and black men has left much to be regretted. Yet, forever, the free pulse beats true in us. And to the black it meant once the willing sacrifice of treasure and of blood, to right a wrong. The Anglo-Saxon instinct, the result of a great evolution, is to make men free. And if there is a clear destiny before our ancient race, it is to lift the men with whom we have to do, whoever they be, as far and as fast as they can bear it, to that full, strong manhood God has given to us

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

We, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, and Elmer J. West, of Glens Falls; Grenville M. Ingalsbe, of Sandy Hill, and Morris P. Ferris, of Dobbs Ferry, all in the State of New York, and all of us citizens of the United States, have associated ourselves together in a membership corporation, and do hereby make this our certificate under the laws of the State of New York.

The name of such corporation is the "New York State Historical Association."

The principal objects for which said corporation is formed are:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures, and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

The territory in which the operations of this corporation are to be principally conducted is Warren, Washington, Essex, Clinton, Saratoga, and Hamilton counties, in the State of New York.

The principal office of said corporation is to be located at Caldwell, on Lake George, county of Warren, in the State of New York.

The number of the directors of said corporation, to be known as the Board of Trustees, is twenty-five.

The names and residences of the directors of said corporation, to hold office until the first annual meeting, and who shall be known as the Board of Trustees, are:

James A. Roberts, Buffalo. Timothy L. Woodruff, Brooklyn. Daniel C. Farr, Glens Falls. Everett R. Sawyer, Sandy Hill. James A. Holden, Glens Falls. Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward. Morris Patterson Ferris, Dobbs Ferry. Elwyn Seelye, Lake George. Grenville M. Ingalsbe. Sandy Hill.

Frederick B. Richards, Anson Judd Upson, Asahel R. Wing, William O. Stearns. Robert C. Alexander, Elmer J. West, Hugh Hastings, Pliny T. Sexton, William S. Ostrander, Sherman Williams. William L. Stone, Henry E. Tremain, William H. Tippetts, John Boulton Simpson, Harry W. Watrous, Abraham B. Valentine,

Ticonderoga. Glens Falls. Fort Edward. Glens Falls. New York. Glens Falls. Albany. Palmyra. Schuylerville. Glens Falls. Mt. Vernon. New York. Lake George. Bolton. Hague. New York.

The first meeting of the corporation, for the purpose of organization, will be held on the 21st day of March, 1899.

The time for holding the annual meeting of the said corporation will be the last Tuesday in July of each year.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto severally subscribed our names and affixed our seals this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine.

DANIEL C. FARR,	(L S.)
JAMES A. HOLDEN,	(L S.)
ELMER J. WEST,	(L S.)
GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE,	(L S.)
MORRIS P FERRIS	(L S.)

STATE OF NEW YORK, County of Warren,

On this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, before me personally appeared Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Elmer J. West, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, and Morris Patterson Ferris, to me known to be the individuals described in and who executed the foregoing articles of incorporation, and they duly severally acknowledged to me that they executed the same.

E. T. JOHNSON, Notary Public.

(SEAL

CHARTER OF NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS, A petition for incorporation by the University has been duly received, containing satisfactory statements made under oath as to the objects and plans of the proposed corporation, and as to the provision made for needed buildings, furniture, equipment, and for maintenance.

THEREFORE, Being satisfied that all requirements prescribed by law or University ordinance for such an association have been fully met, and that public interests justify such action, the Regents by virtue of the authority conferred on them by law, hereby incorporate James A. Roberts, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Morris Patterson Ferris, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Anson Judd Upson, Robert C. Alexander, Hugh Hastings, William S. Ostrander, William L. Stone, William H. Tippetts, Harry W. Watrous, William O. Stearns, Timothy L. Woodruff, Everett R. Sawyer, Robert O. Bascom, Elwyn Seelye, Frederick B. Richards, Asahel R. Wing, Elmer J. West, Pliny T. Sexton, Sherman Williams, Henry E. Tremain, John Boulton Simpson, Abraham B. Valentine, and their successors in office under the corporate name of

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

This corporation shall be located at Caldwell, Warren county, New York.

Its first trustees shall be the twenty-five above-named incorporators. Its object shall be to promote historical research, to disseminate knowledge of the history of the State by lectures and publications, to establish a library and museum at Caldwell, to mark places of historic interest, and to acquire custody or control of historic places.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Regents grant this charter, No. 1,245, under seal of the University, at the Capitol at Albany, April 24, [SEAL.] 1899.

ANSON JUDD UPSON, Chancellor.

MELVIL DEWEY, Secretary.



CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This Society shall be known as "New York State Historical Association."

ARTICLE II.

Objects.

Its objects shall be:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

ARTICLE III.

Members.

Section 1. Members shall be of three classes — Active, Corresponding, and Honorary. Active members only shall have a voice in the management of the Society.

Section 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for Active membership.

Section 3. Persons residing outside of the State of New York, interested in historical investigation, may be made Corresponding members.

Section 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made Honorary members.

ARTICLE IV.

Management.

Section 1. The property of the Association shall be vested in, and the affairs of the Association conducted by, a Board of Trustees to be elected

by the Association. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the remaining members of the Board, the appointee to hold office until the next annual meeting of the Association.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall have power to suspend or expel members of the Association for cause, and to restore them to membership after suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given ample opportunity to be heard in his or her own defense.

Section 3. The first Board of Trustees shall consist of those designated in the Articles of Incorporation, who shall meet as soon as may be after the adoption of this Constitution and divide themselves into three classes of, as nearly as may be, eight members each, such classes to serve respectively, one until the first annual meeting, another until the second annual meeting, and the third until the third annual meeting of the Association. At each annual meeting the Association shall elect eight or nine members (as the case may be) to serve as Trustees for the ensuing three years, to fill the places of the class whose term then expires.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall have no power to bind the Association to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the Association, except by the consent of the Board of Trustees, expressed in writing and signed by every member thereof.

ARTICLE V.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, all of whom shall be elected by the Board of Trustees from its own number, at its first meeting after the annual meeting of the Association, and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the Incorporators to act until an election as aforesaid, by the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees may appoint such other officers, committees, or agents, and delegate to them such powers as it sees fit, for the prosecution of its work.

Section 3. Vacancies in any office or committee may be filled by the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VI.

Fees and Dues.

Section 1. Each person on being elected to Active Membership shall pay into the Treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum, for his or her annual dues.



Section 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member, exempt from further payments.

Section 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family qualified under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity, by the payment at one time of two hundred and fifty dollars. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and invested as a special fund, the income only to be used for current expenses.

Section 5. Honorary and Corresponding Members and persons who hold Perpetual Memberships shall be exempt from the payment of dues. Section 6. The Board of Trustees shall have power to excuse the nonpayment of dues, and to suspend or expel members for nonpayment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

ARTICLE VII.

Meetings.

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Tuesday of July in each year. Notice thereof shall be sent to each member at least ten days prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Association may be called at any time by the Board of Trustees, and must be called upon the written request of ten members. The notice of such meeting shall specify the object thereof, and no business shall be transacted thereat excepting that designated in the notice.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Association.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall arrange for the holding of a series of meetings at Lake George during the summer months, for the reading of original papers on history and kindred subjects, and for social intercourse between the members and their guests.

ARTICLE VIII.

Scal.

The seal of the Association shall be a group of statuary representing the Mohawk Chief, King Hendrick, in the act of proving to Gen. Wm. Johnson the unwisdom of dividing his forces on the eve of the battle of Lake George. Around this a circular band bearing the legend, New York State Historical Association, 1899.



ARTICLE IX.

Amendments.

Amendments to the Constitution may be made at any annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose. Notice of a proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least thirty days before the day upon which action is taken thereon.

The adoption of an amendment shall require the favorable vote of twothirds of those present at a duly-constituted meeting of the Association.



BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

Members.

Candidates for membership in the Association shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Board of Trustees. Three adverse votes shall defeat an election.

ARTICLE II.

Board of Trustees.

Section 1. The Board of Trustees may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, and which shall not be inconsistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall elect one of their own number to preside at the meetings of the Board in the absence of the President.

Section 3. The Board of Trustees shall at each annual meeting of the Association render a full report of its proceedings during the year last nast.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall hold at least four meetings in each year. At each of such meetings it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership.

Section 5. The Board of Managers shall each year appoint committees to take charge of the annual gathering of the Association at Lake George.

ARTICLE III.

President.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and perform such other duties as may be delegated to him by the Association or the Board of Trustees. He shall be ex-officio a member of all committees.

ARTICLE IV.

Vice-Presidents.

The Vice-Presidents shall be denominated First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents. In the absence of the President his duties shall devolve upon the senior Vice-President present.

ARTICLE V.

Treasurer.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall have charge of all the funds of the Association. He shall keep accurate books of account, which shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Board of Trustees. He shall present a full and comprehensive statement of the Association's financial condition, its receipts and expenditures, at each annual meeting, and shall present a brief statement to the Board of Trustees at each meeting. He shall pay out money only on the approval of the majority of the Executive Committee, or on the resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. Before assuming the duties of his office, the Treasurerelect shall with a surety to be approved by the Board execute to the Association his bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as Treasurer.

Section 3. The President shall, thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Association, appoint two members of the association who shall examine the books and vouchers of the Treasurer and audit his accounts, and present their report to the Association at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.

Secretary.

The Secretary shall preserve accurate minutes of the transactions of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and shall conduct the correspondence of the Association. He shall notify the members of meetings, and perform such other duties as he may be directed to perform by the Association or by the Board of Trustees. He may delegate any portion of his duties to the Assistant Secretary.

ARTICLE VII.

Executive Committee.

The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Committee. Such Committee shall direct the business of the Association between meetings of the Board of Trustees, but shall have no power to establish

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or declare a policy for the Association, or to bind it in any way except in relation to routine work. The Committee shall have no power to direct a greater expenditure than fifty dollars without the authority of the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VIII.

Procedure.

Section 1. The following, except when otherwise ordered by the Association, shall be the order of business at the annual meetings of the Association:

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual, and of any special meeting, and action thereon.

Reports of Officers and Board of Trustees.

Reports of Standing Committees.

Reports of Special Committees.

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, where not provided for in this Constitution and By-Laws, shall be governed by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Section 3. The previous question shall not be put to vote at any meeting unless seconded by at least three members.

Section 4. All elections shall be by ballot, except where only one candidate is nominated for an office.

Section 5. All notices shall be sent personally or by mail to the address designated in writing by the member to the Secretary.

ARTICLE IX.

Nominating Committee.

A committee of three shall be chosen by the Association at its annual meeting, to nominate Trustees to be voted for at the next annual meeting. Such Committee shall file its report with the Secretary of this Association at least thirty days prior to the next annual meeting. The Secretary shall mail a copy of such report to every member of the Association with the notice of the annual meeting at which the report is to be acted upon. The action of such Committee shall, however, in no wise interfere with the power of the Association to make its own nominations, but all such independent nominations shall be sent to the Secretary at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting. A copy thereof shall be sent to each

member by the Secretary with the notice of meeting, and shall be headed "Independent Nominations." If the Nominating Committee fail for any reason to make its report so that it may be sent out with the notice of the annual meeting, the Society may make its own nominations at such annual meeting.

ARTICLE X.

Amendments.

These By-Laws may be amended at any duly-constituted meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Notice of the proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least twenty days before the day upon which action thereon is taken.

MEMBERS NEW YORK STATE HISTORI-CAL ASSOCIATION.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Dr. Edward Egleston,

Joshua's Rock, N. Y.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Berthold Fernow.

Trenton, N. J.

LIFE MEMBERS.

W. K. Bixby,

Mrs. Marcellus Hartley.

Mrs. Oliver Livingston Jones, 116 W. 72d St., N. Y. City.

Mrs. Horace See,

Gen. Henry E. Tremain,

Dr. W. Seward Webb,

Bolton, N. Y.

232 Madison Ave., N. Y. City.

50 W. oth St., N. Y. City.

146 Broadway, N. Y. City.

51 E. 44th St., N. Y. City.

MEMBERS.

Abbatt, W. Allen. Ethan Allen, Hiram Allen, Frank S. Arthur, Miss L. Louise

*Alexander, Robert C.

Bascom, Robert O. Bassinger, George H. *Bloodgood, Dr. Delevan Westchester, N. Y. 45 W. 52d St., N. Y. City. Sandy Hill, N. Y. 116 W. 45th St., N. Y. City. Woodside, L. I. New York.

Fort Edward, N. Y. Glens Falls, N. Y. 320 Clermont Ave., Brooklyn,

* Deceased.

N. Y.

Burnham, George

Burdge, Franklin Brandow, Rev. John H. Brackett, Hon. E. T. *Burleigh, H. G. Buffett, Edward P.

Bishop, Charles F. Bullard, Dr. T. E. Burleigh, Brackett W.

Carpenter, Mrs. James Carpenter, James Carter, Robert C. Cheney, Dr. Francis L. Chapman, W. J. Cool, Charles W. Cooley, James S., M. D. Coolidge, Thomas S. Cook, Dr. Joseph Tottenham

Cunningham, Col. J. L. Cornell, S. Douglas

Day, Benjamin Dawe, G. Grosvenor Davis, Loyal L. Denton, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Derby, John H. Denham, Edward De Long, C. J. Doane, Rt. Rev. W. C. Doolittle, C. M. Durkee, James H.

Farr. Dr. Daniel C. Ferris, Morris Patterson Ferris, Mrs. Morris Patterson Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. Felt, Charles W. Fowler, Albert N. C.

3401 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 325 W. 57th St., N. Y. City. Schuylerville, N. Y. Saratoga, N. Y. Whitehall, N. Y.

520 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N. J.

67 Wall St., N. Y. City. Schuylerville, N. Y. Whitehall, N. Y.

Caldwell, N. Y. Caldwell, N. Y. Glens Falls, N. Y. Cortland, N. Y. Glens Falls, N. Y. Glens Falls, N. Y. Glen Cove, N. Y. Glens Falls, N. Y.

636 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y. Cobourg, Ont.

Hague, N. Y. 81 Ludlow St., Yonkers, N. Y. Glens Falls, N. Y. Sandy Hill, N. Y. Sandy Hill, N. Y. New Bedford, Mass. Glens Falls, N. Y. Albany, N. Y. Schuvlerville, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y. Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. Marlborough, Mass. Glens Falls, N. Y.

Sandy Hill, N. Y.

* Deceased.

Fitch, Charles E.

*Ferriss, George M.

Goodman, Miss Edith W. Griffith, Prof. E. W. Griffith, William Herrick

Hall, Fred J.
Hayden, Henry W.
Higgins, Hon. Frank W.
Hitchcock, Hon. Charles H.
Holden, James A.
Howe, Dr. Lucien

*Howland, L. M.
Howard, Harry A.
Hoyt, Charles A.
Hull, Edgar
*Hutchins, Mrs. Waldo
Heilner, Samuel
Hastings, Hon. Hugh

Ingalls, George A.
Ingalsbe, Hon. Grenville M.
Ingalsbe, Miss Myra L.

Jones, Rev. Dr. Robert E.

Kellogg, Rev. Dr. Charles D. Kelsey, David M.

Kellogg, J. Augustus King, Charles F. King, Rev. Dr. Joseph E. Kneil, T. R. Knapp, George O.

*Lansing, Abraham Lansing, Mrs. Abraham

Lapham, Byron Langdon, Andrew Department Public Instruction, Albany, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y. Glens Falls, N. Y. Albany, N. Y.

Tarrytown, N. Y.

120 Broadway, N. Y. City.

Olean, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y.

183 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

Fort Edward, N. Y. Glens Falls, N. Y. New York City. Fort Edward, N. Y. Kings Bridge, N. Y. 314 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

Albany, N. Y.

Sandy Hill, N. Y. Sandy Hill, N. Y. Hartford, N. Y.

Geneva, N. Y.

Sandy Hill, N. Y.

192 Woodlawn Ave., Saratoga, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y.

Fort Edward, N. Y.

Saratoga, N. Y.

Lake George, N. Y.

Albany, N. Y.

Washington Avenue, Albany,

N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y. Buffalo, N. Y.

* Deceased.

Larned, J. W.

Lester, C. C.
Little, Russell A.
Little, Dr. George W.
Lewis, George C.
*Lupien, Frederick G.
Lyttle, Dr. E. W.

Madigan, P. F.
Mahoney, Jeremiah C.
Maney, J. A.
Melville, Rev. Ernest
Mann, William D.
Marsh, Wallace T.
Martine, Dr. G. R.
*Marvin, Hon. J. M.
Matthews, George E.
McCarthy, James
Melick, Dr. W. S.
Michael, Edward

Moore, Commodore John W. *Morgan, Hon. Wm. J.

Noble, A. R. Noble, Mrs. A. R.

Ostrander, William S.

Payne, Silas H.
Parsons, James Russell
Peck, Reuben N.
Potter, Delcour S.
Pryor, Charles
Pell, Howland

*Putnam, Hon. John R.

Raymond, Rev. Dr. A. V. V. Ransom, Hon. Rastus S. Ransom, Frank H.

35 Johnson Park, Buffalo, N. Y.

Saratoga, N. Y.
Glens Falls, N. Y.
Glens Falls, N. Y.
Albany, N. Y.
Glens Falls, N. Y.
Albany, N. Y.

Glens Falls, N. Y.
Glens Falls, N. Y.
Amsterdam, N. Y.
Fort Edward, N. Y.
Hague, N. Y.
Glens Falls, N. Y.
Glens Falls, N. Y.
Saratoga, N. Y.
Suffalo, N. Y.
Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Fort Edward, N. Y.
741 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

Bolton Landing, N. Y. Albany, N. Y.

Caldwell, N. Y. Caldwell, N. Y.

Schuylerville, N. Y.

Silver Bay, N. Y.
Albany, N. Y.
Glens Falls, N. Y.
Glens Falls, N. Y.
New Rochelle, N. Y.

Broad-Exchange Building, N. Y. City.

Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

Schenectady, N. Y. 128 Broadway, N. Y. City. 137 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.

* Deceased.

